1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

869 754 609 264 pertains to food but is concerned with how and where a person can safely eat rather than with what he can eat. A child is taught to be very careful with his crumbs and other food leavings. He is warned that, if someone steals such material and performs a certain magical rite upon it, he will sicken and die, and that, therefore, he should be particularly careful if he eats anywhere but in his own house. It is difficult for a thief of sorcery material to steal leavings from the floor or rubbish heap of your own dwelling because he would be killed on the spot if he were caught at it, but a sorcerer can pick up food leavings left in the forest with little danger of discovery. [602] [571] Since relatives may not sorcerize one another, one may eat in their houses if one is careful, but parents warn children never to eat in the house of a non-relative, for a crumb may fall, no matter how careful they may be, and non-relatives are not to be trusted. A child is warned that his blood is [826] another material which must be kept from the hands of sorcerers: therefore, if he cut himself, he should take care to catch or wipe up the blood in a leaf which he should burn or [825] hide in a safe place. He is also warned that his blood "goes into" any animal that he kills, so that he must be careful not to spill the blood of such an animal.

869 754 152 A child does not have to be warned frequently about the dangers of sorcery because his parents show such fear of it.[2] Whenever anyone is sick in the hamlet, practically the only subject of conversation is sorcery. Adults speculate about [521] the identity of the sorcerer and curse those whom they suspect. Everyone is worried and emotional. The almost hysterical reaction of his parents to sorcery impresses the seriousness of the danger upon the child so vividly that it is not difficult to teach him to be careful.

867 264 In addition to learning that he may not eat things naturally poisonous nor food contaminated by sorcery, the child is conditioned against eating food which belongs to someone else. In other words, he comes face to face with the property

[113] [2] Emotional attitudes as well as overt habits are subject to imitation. See N. E. Miller and John Dollard, *Social Learning and Imitation* (New Haven, 1941), chap. xiv.

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

present, if the boys' parents would scold them for fighting. 865
He said: "No indeed; fighting is a good thing. A person who 602
is afraid to fight can never be a big man in the community."
When Fit stole the contents of Mey's bag, the latter's *paternal aunt* told him to wait until Fit came back and then do the same thing to him. When Fit did return, I asked Mey if he had carried out his *paternal aunt's* suggestion and he said, "No, my father told me that after all Fit was my *brother* and that I should forgive him."

Kwoma boys and girls thus learn during childhood to 865
avoid punishment by running away, obeying, hiding, lying, and being polite. They learn to fight, tease, annoy, punish, scold, retaliate, insult, and threaten as ways of being aggressive. They become aware that the source of pain or danger, whether it be man or animal, is the most important thing to know in deciding whether to fight or flee. Finally, they discover that if they are inappropriately aggressive or too submissive they will be punished by other members of the community.

Prestige is a motive which in Kwoma society is closely 865
allied to aggression. The advantage of being old and big is 554
strongly impressed on a Kwoma boy. He can successfully 602
command his younger *brother* to perform tasks for him and to get out of his way, but he must submit to similar commands from his older *brothers*. The contrast is even more marked if he compares himself to his father and *uncles*. Not only are they continually commanding and punishing him, but they are also able, because of size and social sanctions, to do things which a boy would like to do but cannot. Kwoma language indicates that the wish for prestige is largely derived from the struggles between siblings during childhood. The term for a man of high prestige is *harafa ma malaka*, [192]
which means "big older brother man," while persons are often derogated by being referred to as *karaganda yikafa*, "little child." It is not surprising, therefore, that Kwoma children exhibit a strong desire to grow up.

Kwoma culture provides the boy with a system of beliefs 826
according to which he can hasten the process of growing up. 856

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

826 He is taught that growth depends upon the renewal of blood,
856 and that food produces blood, which promotes growth as long as it is fresh. When blood has been in the system for a time, however, it begins to grow stale and finally rotten, and then growth ceases until the bad blood is removed from the body. It is furthermore believed that the best method of removing this bad blood from the system is through the penis.[20] As might be expected, children with a strong wish to grow up and with a method which they are told will accomplish it, take this means even though it is painful. Boys frequently go into the bushes and scrape their penises with nettle leaves so that the blood may flow out. For some reason that I could not discover, perhaps because penis scraping was associated with masturbation, boys performed this act only in private and were ashamed if they were discovered. One day Gwiyap, seeing that Mey had left his net bag lying in my house, opened it and pulled out a bundle of nettles. When Mey came in, I asked him about the bundle. He became very embarrassed and said, "Oh, just something of mine." When Gwiyap began to tease him about it, he ran from the house.

It would perhaps be more appropriate to describe this complex in terms of the fear of not growing up rather than in terms of the wish to grow up. The following cases suggest that this is probably the way in which Kwoma boys think of it. Fit asked me if I had performed this rite when I was a child, and when I answered that I had not, his mouth dropped
[123] in amazement. "How did you grow up, then?" he asked. Gwiyap, who was also present, settled the matter by explaining to Fit that white men are different from Kwoma. On another occasion Ham asked me the same question and was equally amazed at my answer. Apparently Fit had told him what I had said, and Ham had asked me to make sure that Fit was not teasing him.

[787] [20] This belief concerns health as well as growth, and, as has already been shown, phlebotomy is practiced in the case of sickness, in order to "let out the bad blood."

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

882 262 Once a Kwoma has passed through the initiatory ceremony he learns new restrictions on eating, assumes new economic responsibilities, and acquires new work habits. Although adolescents are for the most part subject to the same restrictions as children, eating at the same times and consuming the same food, there are some special food taboos which now [826] apply for the first time. A boy may not eat fish for several months after his age-grade initiation. His blood, following the ceremonial cutting, is believed to flow down the stream into the lake and finally into the Sepik River, so that it contaminates the fish caught there. The taboo is thus supported by the Kwoma belief that to eat food contaminated by one's [764] own blood is dangerous. Another restriction is the "voluntary" abstention by adolescent boys and girls from eating [765] sago gruel for the period between the first and second funerals of a close relative. A third new limitation upon a boy's [381] eating habits is associated with his sexual behavior. It is be- [753] lieved that if a male eats food cooked by any female with whom he has had sexual intercourse, he will sicken and perhaps die.[4] Sickness is believed to result not only from eating food contaminated by one's own blood, but also from eating food contaminated by one's own sperm. When a woman cooks, any sperm which she has recently received is thought to contaminate the food. For these reasons an adolescent boy takes care not to get the harmful sperm back into his system by eating food cooked by a girl with whom he has philandered.[5]

883 252 602 When Kwoma youths have attained the status of an adolescent, they must assume new economic responsibilities. While they were children, their parents provided all the sago flour that was needed by the household, but now both sexes must share in the labor of collecting and preparing this staple. Since this is a task which involves the coöperation of a man and a woman, a *brother* and *sister* form a team and they produce together a supply of flour to supplement that [462] prepared by the mother and father. It is the boy's duty to

[4] This taboo also applies to adults with the exception of food cooked by a wife.

[5] The effects of this belief on the sexual behavior of the Kwoma will be discussed later.

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

felt this with respect to a girl who was only a few years his senior, maintaining that he was not interested in her because she was too old for him. 882 837 561

A boy gains prestige from his sexual exploits. Although he must be careful not to tell anyone who might inform the girl's relatives, he frequently boasts of his conquests to those of his *brothers* with whom he is most intimate, unless, of course, the girl happens to be closely related to them. A lad who enjoys the reputation of being a successful philanderer gains the respect of his fellows. Although seldom praised to his face, he receives added motivation from hearing others complimented for their successful exploits. 882 554 836

A youth normally does not marry until he has undergone the ceremony which makes him an adult. He begins courting, however, during adolescence, and he is subject to all the restrictions which control the choice of a mate. Although a boy may successfully engage in secret philandering with a *sister*, open courtship and marriage would bring their relation under public obloquy. Incest and other marriage restrictions, therefore, influence a boy's choice more strongly in courtship than in philandering. His selection must be made from a relatively small number of persons. The prospective bride should be slightly younger than he, but must be already pubescent. She must be a member of some sib other than his own and not closely related to his *mother's brother*, *mother's sister*, *father's sister*, *sister's husband*, *wife*,[21] *friend*, or *ceremonial father*. Finally, she must be unmarried. 582 584

The Kwoma give a number of different reasons for their restrictions upon marriage between relatives. One of their rationalizations stems from their theory of reproduction. They believe that the foetus develops from a combination of the sperm of the man and the blood of the woman. They further believe that if a man and woman with the same sperm-blood combination should produce a child, he would be sickly and apt to die. This idea is related to their theory that the renewal of blood is necessary to growth and health. Since 582 842 [826]

[21] A man may not marry a relative of his first wife while she is still alive.

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

244 241 262 826 beliefs about blood appear again to determine a facet of the yam-planting complex. It is believed that in the process of planting yams a man's blood becomes associated with the seed, and hence contaminates the produce. Thus, if a man should eat his own harvest, it would be equivalent to eating his own blood, and he would sicken and die. If he heeds the warning implied in this belief, he must have yams that are planted by someone else or go without them. Kwoma culture resolves the dilemma as follows: at the time of planting, a section of the garden large enough to produce sufficient yams for the planter's personal needs is set aside. [602] He does not plant this section, but calls on a *brother* to do it for him. This provides a section whose produce will not be contaminated by his blood and which he may therefore eat with impunity. In return he plants a similar section in his *brother's* garden.

241 244 After the yams are put in the ground, nothing but weeding need be done until the sprouts appear. The women of the [462] gardening group do this, bending from the waist rather than kneeling, and pulling the weeds with thumb and fingers. They keep the ground clear until the plants have a good start and then allow the weeds to spring up unheeded.

Soon after the yam sprouts have broken the ground, [462] stringers must be provided to support the climbing vines. In preparation for this, men and boys cut lianas from the forest and split them into sections about the diameter of the [284] little finger and about thirty feet long. They tie a loop formed by a half knot on the standing part on one end of [482] each of these ropes and coil them into bundles. The women carry these bundles in their net bags to the garden, where the men hang the lianas by the loops from the branches of [417] the denuded trees. To do this they use a long bamboo pole with a cross stick, lashed a few inches from the top to prevent the loop from sliding down the pole. The free ends of the lianas are pegged to the ground a few inches from each yam hill. Each hill is thus provided with a stringer, one end of which is attached to a branch and the other to a peg in the ground. Once every few days thereafter the men go over the garden and train the yam tendrils on the stringer. The gar-

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

a blanket of leaves and cut up with bamboo knives.[a] The joints are cut with adzes. The mode of butchering differs considerably from the European technique, as the pig is divided in line with the jaws into a ventral and a dorsal half rather than along the backbone into a right and a left half.

A hunter who has killed a pig may eat none of its flesh himself lest he sicken and die. This restriction is parallel to the one placed upon the yam planters.[b] The Kwoma believe that when a man kills a pig his own blood enters the animal; hence to eat its flesh would be to eat his own blood, an act which has the consequence of causing sickness and death. A man therefore uses the pork for one of the following purposes: to provide food for his family and relatives; to discharge a ceremonial obligation to a relative; to give a goodwill feast at his house tamberan to which all members of his cult section (*Yenama* or *Minjama*) are invited; to provide food for one of the regular cult or age-grade ceremonies in order to gain prestige; to give a feast for the members of the sorcery court if a relative is sick; to provide for the second funeral feast for a deceased relative; to provide food for a work bee; or to trade with the river people for shell money. In the event that the pig is to be used for a feast, the whole animal is contributed and a soup is made in several large pots. What is not eaten is distributed to those present at the ceremony. If, however, the animal is to be given to relatives, there are specific rules which govern what part of the animal shall go to each of them. The *maternal uncle* receives the hams; the *paternal aunt* gets the second joints of the fore legs; the *sisters* are given the shoulders and brisket; *paternal uncles* receive the brain case and upper jaw; and the *brothers* get the hind trotters. The remainder—the backbone, hind and fore flanks, and the entrails—is kept by the hunter to provide meat for his immediate family.

This description of the use to which pork is put indicates that a man does not learn to hunt pigs in order to satisfy his

[a] Although the Kwoma now have steel knives, they prefer bamboo ones for butchering.

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

224 strangled by hand or are snared by means of a running noose
[851] tied to the end of a stick. A man sometimes constructs a small deadfall trap in the granary or dwelling to catch stray rats, but more frequently he sets a hunting dog on these pests.

224 If a man does not use a bow and dart or spear to kill small
262 animals, the belief about his blood does not strictly apply.
[826] He may eat them without harm. Many Kwoma, however, do not take the chance of eating something which has been killed even in this way, and give the meat to some other member of their family.

224 Opossums and birds of paradise are exceptions to the
703 lack of interest in small game. A man may expend consider-
237 able effort hunting these, not because of their food value, but
223 because they yield homicidal insignia. A man who has taken the head of an enemy is permitted to wear a band of opossum fur on his forehead and bird of paradise plumes in his comb. Hence a man who already has the privilege of wearing such insignia eagerly seeks them, and one who does not yet have the privilege seeks them to use in the future or to give to a *brother* or *uncle*.

252 Processing sago is a continual chore for Kwoma adults of
593 both sexes. The technique which they master during adoles-
885 cence has been described in the preceding chapter. The only change which occurs at adulthood is that the work group is composed of a man and his wife rather than of a brother and
[439] his sister. The habits of processing sago are maintained by
[470] the family's need for an everyday supply of sago flour, for a surplus to be traded with the river people for fish, and for
[796] contributions to necessary work bees and ceremonial feasts.

226 An adult woman continues to fish as she did during her
462 adolescence and childhood. Since marriage is patrilocal, she
[591] fishes in a new locale with the women of her husband's hamlet.
[423] The main fish supply comes from trade; consequently fishing
[467] is only a supplementary occupation in an economic sense and is engaged in primarily for recreation.

222 A woman supplements the larder with edible produce from
462 the forest. She collects the leaves of certain wild trees for use as greens; she searches in the dead butts of sago palms for

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13. Kwoma OJ13

ings about ghosts are issued during childhood. Boys and girls are warned not to go abroad at night lest they be attacked by ghosts, not to approach the places specified as the land of the dead lest an accident befall them, not to go near the platform on which the dead are exposed lest the ghosts which hover around harm them, and not to whistle at night lest they attract these dangerous supernatural beings. Adolescents are warned not to disobey the commands of a ghost as they are issued through the medium of a possessed person lest they come to harm.

The Kwoma believe that certain people have the power to injure or kill by means of sorcery. They do so either by inserting a magical "poison" into food to be eaten by the victim or by burning in a special clay pot certain materials, particularly food leavings, blood, and semen, which have been associated with the victim. A child is first warned about sorcery during the weaning period, when he is told not to eat food given him by anyone except a close relative, lest there be "poison" in it, and not to eat away from home lest he carelessly spill crumbs with which he can be sorcerized. These warnings are repeated during childhood, and others are added. A boy is warned not to spill the blood of the snakes and marsupials which he kills, lest it be found by a sorcerer and used against him. He is also warned to be careful not to spill his own blood when he cuts himself. Adolescent boys are warned not to have sexual intercourse with a girl who is likely to give his sperm to a sorcerer. Adolescent girls are warned to dispose of their menstrual blood carefully, so that it cannot be used as sorcery material.

The Kwoma believe that food is converted into blood, which remains in the system for a time and then deteriorates. Good (fresh) blood is responsible for the health of an adult and the normal growth of a child. Bad (deteriorated) blood causes sickness and pain and prevents normal growth. It follows from this theory that bad blood must be removed from the system in order to insure good health and normal growth, and that care must be taken not to eat food contaminated with bad blood and thus get it back into the system.

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

869 206 *Becoming a Kwoma*

826 Kwoma children are warned that if they do not allow some-
[157] one to bleed them when they have a headache, stomach-ache,
or sprain, the pain will become worse and they may even be-
come seriously ill. A boy is also warned that if he does not
[856] bleed his penis he will not grow up.[1] When the age-grade
initiation approaches, a boy is warned that if he does not
attend it and have his blood ceremonially let, he will not grow
[262] up. Since this operation is performed in a stream, he is
warned that if he eats fish he will become sick, for the fish
may have been contaminated by his blood. He is warned that
if he eats an animal which he has killed with a spear or arrow
he will sicken and perhaps die, since his blood enters the ani-
mal through his weapon and contaminates its flesh. This
warning is reiterated to adults when they begin pig hunting.
An adult who plants yams is warned not to eat them lest he
become sick, for the seed and produce have become contami-
nated with his blood.

869 One other unrealistic warning should be mentioned here,
262 because a case involving it will be discussed later. Adoles-
562 cents are warned that if they eat sago flour washed by a
252 woman it will make them sick. The normal procedure in
processing sago flour is for the woman, either sister or wife,
to crush the pith and for the man to rinse the flour from it.

121 The following case will serve to illustrate the psychologi-
869 cal effect that the above unrealistic warnings usually have
823 upon a Kwoma pupil. Kar, Mar, Gwiyap, and I were walk-
123 ing through the swamp one day, and the path passed by a
waterhole. Kar warned the rest of us not to pass too near it
for it was the dwelling place of a *marsalai*. Mar and Gwiyap
heeded and passed by the waterhole at a distance. I, how-
ever, did not heed, approached the hole, and poked my walk-
ing stick into it. The three Kwoma shouted at me for doing
this, warning me to stop and scolding me for my temerity.
The fact that Mar and Gwiyap passed by the waterhole at a
distance can be analyzed thus: the drive was fear evoked by
Kar's warning due to the pain which both Mar and Gwiyap

[1] This warning is not made directly but by implication, and the practice is performed in secret. See chap. iv, p. 64.

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

big men are likely to be more dangerous than small ones, generalization on the basis of size also tends to support the warnings issued about these supernatural beings.

Ghosts are described not only as having human form but as actually being the spirits of deceased persons. Kwoma seldom speak of ghosts in general terms, but usually specify the ghost of some particular deceased relative. When a Kwoma dreams of someone who has died, he is told that the ghost of this person has actually visited him in the night. Moreover, living persons are sometimes called ghosts. Thus the similarity between men and ghosts is impressed upon a child. Hence, when he is rewarded for heeding warnings about living persons, this should by generalization strengthen the habit of heeding warnings about ghosts. Kwoma children are told that ghosts can assume the form of birds and animals. Whenever a bird or animal is heard or seen at night, it is often suggested that it may be a ghost in disguise. Thus fear of ghosts may generalize from animals as well as from men.

Fear of food "poisoned" by sorcery has, like food contaminated by blood, a realistic source of generalization from food which is actually spoiled. Kwoma employ the same word (*kafwa sek*) to describe putrifying meat or fruit, and to describe food which they believe is "poisoned." Thus if a child becomes ill after not heeding the realistic warning against eating spoiled food, this should tend to strengthen warnings about sorcery. A second source from which the belief in sorcery may receive generalized support is realistic warnings concerning aggression from human beings. Each time a person is scolded, threatened, insulted, or spanked by another person, such an event should strengthen his fear that he can be harmed by sorcery also.

A realistic source from which fears about blood contamination may spring is less evident. The following suggestions may be made. When sickness results from food which is really contaminated, it should strengthen a person's tendency to avoid food which is supposed to be contaminated. Secondly, the Kwoma word for milk is "breast blood." Children are

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

made to abhor milk at the time of weaning, and this abhorrence may generalize through the common term to the drinking of blood or to eating things believed to be contaminated with it.[6]

Imitation, as well as warning and generalization, is of considerable importance in the inculcation of supernatural beliefs. In the previous chapter it was indicated that imitation took its place along with teaching as one of the two most important mechanisms of culture transmission. Although imitation was not analyzed in detail, it was indicated that a Kwoma pupil is very frequently rewarded for behaving like other persons in the society, particularly those who are in the same sex, age, and kinship category as the pupil. Conversely, Kwoma pupils frequently do not gain rewards and do experience pain when they behave differently from these models. This is particularly true when the model gives evidences of being in a dangerous situation.[7] Thus to behave differently from a model comes to evoke anxiety in a Kwoma pupil, whereas to behave like one comes to have an acquired reward value.[8]

The following case will illustrate the way in which supernatural fears are transmitted by means of imitation. I started to whistle one evening while Mar and Mey were visiting me. Mar warned me to stop lest I attract ghosts, but I persisted. Mar then bolted for his house and Mey fol-

[123]

[6] Potable liquids such as coconut milk are classed with water, whereas undrinkable liquids such as milk, urine, and breadfruit sap are classed with blood.

[7] The following case will serve as illustration of pain suffered for not imitating. Awa became possessed one night and began to belabor her sister with a stick. Chinuwa caught hold of Awa to prevent her from harming anyone. Several children from the hamlet, hearing the commotion, gathered to see what was happening. Awa struggled against Chinuwa's restraining arms, finally broke free, and began to lay about her with the stick. All the children except Fit ran out of reach. He delayed for a moment and received a blow from Awa on his legs. He then ran away as the rest had done. Fit, by this event, was at first punished for not imitating the other children and then rewarded for imitating them by escaping further blows. Such a situation as this not infrequently presents itself to Kwoma children.

[8] See N. E. Miller and John Dollard, *Social Learning and Imitation* (New Haven, 1941).

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

sion[20] which is normally harmless because the sorcerer is seldom if ever discovered.

The belief in sorcery, as well as furnishing an explanation for sickness, functions as a means of social control. It stands, indeed, in lieu of a police force and strong political organization as a preventive of criminal behavior. Theft, rape, murder, and trespass, for example, are inhibited by the fear that these crimes will bring retaliation through sorcery from the person against whom the crime is committed or from his relatives. The fear of sorcery is more potent in preventing crimes than the fear of other forms of retaliation because it is considered as dangerous as realistic modes and more difficult to prevent.

Finally, sorcery provides a means whereby persons can express their aggression against other members of the society without serious consequences. Although the Kwoma probably use this mode of expressing anger only infrequently, the belief in the efficacy of the sorcery mechanism permits one to perform acts which he believes will cause the sickness and death of another person. Thus sorcery beliefs, like those about *marsalai* and ghosts, perform important functions for the members of Kwoma society.

Kwoma informants explain that it is necessary to hold the age-grade ceremony once every five years in order to provide an opportunity for the ceremonial letting of blood that insures health and normal growth to the initiates. The beliefs about blood are thus bound into the system of age-grading, which provides a hierarchy of prestige positions and, like the yam cult, provides opportunities for singing, dancing, flute playing, gong beating, wood carving, and ceremonial license. The taboo against eating pork that one has speared, which is based on the Kwoma theory of blood, prevents private consumption by the hunter and compels him to distribute the meat. This results in quick consumption, an important factor in a damp hot climate where no efficient method for preserving meat is known. The distribution of pork to rela-

[20] The announcement of sickness, the behavior at court, and the testing visits are all aggressive in character.

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

The distribution of pork to relatives also serves to cement kinship bonds. The belief that a person should not eat yams which he has planted, because of blood contamination, results in exchange planting and thus strengthens the coöperative bonds between relatives. Finally, the beliefs in blood strengthen the rules of incest and exogamy, since it is thought that children of parents with the same blood are not likely to be strong and healthy.

Kwoma beliefs about *marsalai*, ghosts, sorcery, and blood are thus seen to be not isolated unrealistic fears, but theories which are enmeshed and intertwined with many of the important institutions of the culture.[21] It is consequently understandable that a Kwoma teacher should insist that a pupil learn these beliefs and that he should tend to disregard evidence that they are unrealistic. The pupil, too, experiences many of the advantages which these beliefs entail, a fact which aids the teacher in the task of inculcation.

Although the above analysis gives an answer to the question of why these unrealistic fears do not extinguish, it raises an equally serious one: How can such fears ever extinguish? In other words, if culture is integrated and functional, how can social change ever take place? The case of Gwiyap and Mar suggests one possible answer to this question. The belief that sago washed by women is not good to eat has the function of making Kwoma men do their share of the work of extracting sago flour. In other words, it supports an equitable division of labor in this phase of Kwoma economic life. The presence of the ethnographer, introducing trade goods which were highly prized by Gwiyap and Mar, their *sisters*, and their parents, introduced a disturbing element into this adjustment. Mar and Gwiyap were willing to take the chance of becoming sick, their *sisters* were willing to do more work, and their parents were willing to let the customary division of labor lapse in order to obtain these trade goods. Without intention, or even awareness of the event until after its occurrence, the ethnographer, by introducing a new form of wealth

[21] Supernatural beliefs, on a cultural level, are similar to neurotic symptoms in the individual, in that both are based on unrealistic fear, both result in secondary gains, and both resist extinction.

619 The land (both mountain and surrounding sago swamp) of the Kongwem
423 people is divided into various large sections which belong to either
631 Wanyi, Haymakwo, or Tu[illegible] These sections are not contiguous, and are
614 specifically bounded by marked trees, rocks, streams, etc. These sections
are further divided into subsections owned by brother, real or classificatory.
[428] Land is passed on to son, or brother's son or mother's brother's son.

241 From this land, the people, working in family groups, get a living.
[262] There are two food products which stand far above all others in dietary
[462] importance, sago and yams. Both sexes and the children work in the planting,
cultivation, and harvesting of these crops, but only men can wash the sago
pith and plant the yams. There is no season for this or for any other of the
food products. Yams are planted on the steep side hills, the tops of
trees first being lopped off and burned. The breaking of the ground is done
with a digging stick. Dry taro, coconut, spinach, banana and recently
222 corn and melons are also cultivated. Beside these food products the leaves
262 of several wildgrowing trees and shrubs, and various berries are eaten.

224 Hunting is quite secondary. Pigs which are the most important of hunted
[796] animals are usually speared only in preparation for a feast, or, if
killed at other times call for a special pig-eating feast.
[223] Cassowarys are also killed by spearing, but to bag one is a rare event.
Smaller birds are very rarely shot with a bow and arrow. Snakes and
[857] lizards are a delicacy supplied by the young boys who either shoot them
222 with a bow and arrow or club them. A large grub which feeds on the sago
palm is a particular delicacy. Neither a man nor his parents may eat the
262 yams he has planted or an animal or bird he has killed. It is thought
826 that the man's blood goes into these food products, and that a man, eating
439 his own blood will die. Fish are obtained by trade and a few caught. Pigs
226
231 and dogs are domesticated.

000 is sold to me. When the Tangwishamp bring favorbi, they expect a knife for
435 a bunch containing 20 or 30 nuts, the equivalent of 2 large bunches of
276 bananas, or a net bag of yams.)

754 Wer, Waremus, Way, Wof, and Kar have gone to Sowinambi's for sunga kafaamuni (sorcery court). Mas and May came back from shooting with one gouria pigeon. May left his net bag and found a bundle of nettles in it.
826 Mas explained that May got them to scrape his penis to make it and him
856 grow. Later I asked May what they were. He laughed, embarrassed and would not answer. "Something bilong me". Gwiyap explained that this was the "fashion of monkis" -- that he was big "finish" and did not do it any more.

685 May reported this afternoon that Pit had stolen a knife from his net bag and gone to his mother's.

838 Kar came up tonight, played the homosexual game with Gwiyap, and put him down, spread his legs apart and spit on his penis--much to the delight of all. Mas berated May for running away and not helping Gwiyap "fashion no good." Yat came at supper time, and he, Marok and Kar ate most of the
595 gouria pigeon. Kar is making arrangements to get a third wife. Mar is kidding him about it.

Gwiyap heard that Camwi, Sowinambi's daughter, on whom he had designs,
584 said that if he married the Urumbanj girl to whom he was bethrothed she would kill her. This pleased Gwiyap who said he was going to break his engagement with the girl from Urumbanj.

752 Knos was playing with a cold cartridge, lighting the powder. I had demonstrated burning gun powder at noon. It did not light at once when he tried it, so he leaned over to blow it, and it went off, burning his face badly, closing both eyes. Mas had warned him. They all blamed him, scolded him for being careless,

583 bush house and spend the day. He would come back after dark and report to
123 me. He kept reiterating that I was his "papa true" and must look out for
583 him if War made trouble. That I should tell Mas that it was "like bilong mari." He wanted to know if I would give him a something toward bride price, and I said I would give some oyster shell. He seemed pleased and said he didn't know but he would take his sisters along with him for fear Mas would back it with one of them. He told me to help protect his mother if War attempted to spear her. Later he said naski (nevermind). When I pressed him, he said this would not happen. He kept reiterating all this, particularly that he was not going for long, only for one day, and then he would come back to work and that he would come up by my bed and tell me when he arrived. This last bit he said over and over. He also said that Yatamiaj, Kar, Kis, Wof et al. were his fathers. He had talked to them and they said they would stand up for him. He said that War was likely to get a spear and shield and come up to the house tamberan with it (evidently a ceremonial fight). I was to stand by, and if he fought, help him. All the time he was telling this, he was very excited.

831 Owiyap just came in without his ?lap lap." I remarked about it, and
826 he said that he had a big penis, which was no good. He said that here the women did not like it because it would hurt too much -- it would be like a
[522] dog, and they would have to go down to the water to get apart. He laughed and thought it was a good joke. I asked him if he had had intercourse with
935 Uka, and he said no. Then I asked him if he had had intercourse with Afi and again he said no since she was his real sister, and he would be very much ashamed.

252 April 18, 1937. Way suggested the elopment be postponed. Masak was going
[583] to Koriasi with the pig, and Mar should wait until he came back. Way came

Ethnophysiology

826
827 The heart (nesuk) is the seat of life. It controls the breath which comes through the nose or the mouth. If a man's heart is injured, he dies. It is located where the ribs join the sternum in the little soft spot just under the breastbone. It is visible by day in the faint pulsating seen at this point. At night the nesuk moves up to the small depression just below the Adam's apple . It sleeps while the organism does. A person must not be awakened suddenly lest the nesuk have enough time to return to the daytime position. It is supposed to wake itself first; then the person opens his eyes. The nesuk is small in a child and proportionately larger as the man or woman grows. It is strong in a strong man and weak in a weak one. Birds, snakes, and other animals as well as ghosts also have nesuk.

[825]
[715]

Food goes in at the mouth, down the neck, and into the stomach where it stays for a while. At the time of defecation, it goes down the intestines and out the anus. Water goes directly to the bladder where it stops until time for urination, when it goes down and out the penis. Sperm is said to be produced in the bladder. The testicles are thought to have no function. Lungs are hung up on either side of the stomach but have no connection with the stomach.

Eyes have a small rope but it is not connected with anything. Neither are the holes in nose or ears connected with anything . The holes in the ears just stop.

The veins and arteries (nenawa) are to make the skin strong. They are unconnected and unrelated with the other vital organs. Blood is everywhere inside the skin. The kidneys are to make the back strong, as is the heart which is also for breath.

192 [826] [262] [614]

marinokw	the brain, and the soft bone on the top of an infant's head. Its function is to make the head strong. It is dangerous for an infant to eat food in another sib until this bone has hardened and the child has cut teeth. The brain is thought to have a door, but no road.
mmboyé	ears
mborowang	neck
mesuk	heart
wofu	lungs
kumbu	stomach
sungu	intestines
mangorusuku	kidneys
mogu	bladder
eré	penis
mandé	testicles
sumé ouf	anus

757 Curing a boil. Boiling water is poured over the siafkofé (the leaf of a creeper), and the broth when cooled, is applied to a boil with a sponge. It is supposed to make the boil come to a head. If the boil breaks by itself, no more is done to it, and it drains. If it does not break when it is ready, it is lanced--either by the patient or by one of his family. [753] Boils are not caused by poison.